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ABSTRACT

This monograph examines the impact of media advertising on the poor. The first half of the report discusses research on the conceptual styles of the poor, mass communication among the poor, and advertising and the low-income consumer. The second half describes the methodology and results of a study of the advertising evaluation capacity and willingness to buy of middle- and low-income groups. The reported results indicate that the poor are more negatively oriented to advertising in general than are their middle-class counterparts. (HTH)

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LAWRENCE BOWEN

Advertising and the Poor

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LAWRENCE BOWEN

Advertising and the Poor

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THE QUESTION OF the presumed effects of advertising among the poor has rarely been addressed with empirical evidence. Despite reports of shoddy merchandising practices in low-income neighborhoods, often bolstered by false or misleading advertising, there has been very little effort to determine how advertising is perceived and evaluated by the low-income consumer.

From the advertiser's point of view, the poor are part of an economically attractive audience reached efficiently by the mass media. That they spend almost twice as much time with electronic media as do their middle-class counterparts seems of little interest to the industry, even if the poor are stimulated to desire products portrayed by advertising, whether or not they are able to evaluate material desires against economic resources. "What," asks Otis Pease, noted historian and chronicler of advertising, "is the social value of urging large numbers of Americans to desire perfectly legitimate goods and services that are utterly beyond their present capacity to acquire and in circumstances where a maldistribution of employment, education, and income makes it impossible for them to translate their desires into effective action?"[1]

Like most such questions, there are no apparent answers. In fact, even a partial answer must make some assumptions concerning advertising's impact that make it suspect. Models of advertising response based largely on how middle and upper classes use advertising are of little help in discovering how the poor respond.

And what of the ability of the poor to make discriminating judgments concerning the content of advertising? Are they, as some have suggested, particularly sensitive to product advertising that capitalizes on status appeal? Does their disproportionately heavy use of television and radio become dysfunctional because advertisers rarely use these media to make reasoned appeals?

While answers to these and related quetions aren't likely to shed light on the social and economic roots of poverty, they should

illuminate the import of advertising in the lives of the low-income consumer. The present study seeks answers to the rather broad question of whether or not advertising may be considered dysfunctional to the consumer decisions of the poor.

Using evaluation of advertising appeals as the major dependent variable, it first looks at response differences between middle- and low-income groups to determine whether the poor are more or less susceptible to advertising influence than their middle-class counterparts, and, second, seeks to determine the causal locus of specific evaluations by examining the interface between specific advertising evaluations and 1) generalized advertising orientation, 2) media attitudes and preferences, 3) product class orientations and 4) specific content parameters. Finally, the relationship between advertising evaluation and purchase intention is examined.

Conceptual Styles Among the Poor

In a summary of the research on conceptual behavior and individual performances among the poor, Lola M. Irelan and Arthur Besner noted the following characteristics:[2]

1. The tendency to simplify the experience world. The poor tend to think in terms of simple causes and effects with little or no concern for process. It is believed that this tendency results in daily routines that are extremely rigid and seldom discarded.

2. Feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and deprivation. While they are aware of income and social gaps, they feel powerless to cope with either their personal condition or the agents mediating their condition within the larger society. The poor generally believe that individual initiative plays very little role in self-improvement or advancement; "luck" and "chance" are seen as the major movers influencing one's social or economic condition.

3. The tendency to live in the present and to seek immediate gratifications. Given meager resources and little control over the future, the poor tend to live for today. In fact, getting "through" the day without problems is regarded as a major accomplishment. Future planning is ignored or dismissed as futile.

4. The tendency to seek simple solutions that may be executed quickly. Immediate plans promising quick results are preferred to more elaborate plans calling for a sustained effort over time. Authority, not reason, is often the source for decisions, and authority is based on physical strength.

5. A general preference for the concrete over the abstract. The verbal behavior of the poor is characterized by few abstractions, generalizations, or concepts. Direct observations and specific objects appear most frequently as referents.

Irelan and Besner believe these cognitive "tendencies" are "conditioned" and reinforced by the special contingencies mediating the

relationships between the poor and their environment; they represent "reasonable" responses to a non-responsive and seemingly unchangeable environment. They also note that the poor desire many of the goals of the middle-class value system: homes, money, possessions, educational opportunities, social status and economic freedom.

There are striking similarities between these tendencies and their verbal behavior, reflected especially in the work of Basil Bernstein on the linguistic patterns among lower and middle-class adults.[3] Taking specific language patterns as his unit of analysis, Bernstein attempts to show how cognitive behavior might be influenced by semantic structures and speech patterns, an intellectual thrust influenced by the classic Whorfian hypothesis that language skills influence perceptions, which in turn shape the cognitions that govern behavior.[4] While the Whorfian hypothesis is far from empirical substantiation,[5] Bernstein has presented evidence on what he terms "elaborated" and "restricted" codes which suggests that the restricted language patterns of the lower class evince:

1. More dependence upon non-verbal cues for meaning, feelings, and relationships;
2. A general concern for the immediate and concrete as opposed to the abstract and futuristic;
3. Greater tendency to organize experiences in terms of specific categories as opposed to causal relationships, i.e., little concern or feeling for process;
4. A general tendency to avoid responsibility and to place blame externally (on others, or in the environment);
5. Very little elaboration on personal motivation, i.e., the subjective intent of the communication is left implicit.[6]

While middle and upper classes use both, they are more likely to use a "restricted" code in close personal interaction and an "elaborated" code in more formal interactions; the lower class, lacking an elaborated code, has a limited range of communicatory behavior, which restricts chances for social and economic mobility. Bernstein recommends training and education in elaborated codes as a precursor to social and economic participation.[7]

The profile that emerges from the literature on the poor makes it readily apparent that fatalism, alienation, isolation and deprivation affect their conceptual styles and mediate their limited attempts to cope. Of particular interest to the student of mass communications

is the observation that the poor are "isolated" from the major information systems—not necessarily by lack of ownership but by their presumed inability to interpret, evaluate and use the content of the mass media.

Mass Communications Among the Poor

In a search of over 3,000 articles, books and papers dealing with poverty, Greenberg and Dervin[8] noted that, while many of the studies provide evidence of differential communications behavior, none provided a conceptual basis explaining those differences.

The poor use television most heavily, followed by radio, newspapers and magazines.[9] The poor spend almost twice as much time with television and radio as their middle-class counterparts.[10] Time spent with the print media is largely devoted to comics and other pictorial fare.[11] Their preferences within the audio-visual media appears to be unselective.[12] One study of Pittsburgh ghetto blacks found the most chosen content was "anything."[13] But Runciman found that suspense, westerns and soap operas decrease in popularity as education increases.[14]

Attempts to predict program preferences such as fantasy or "escapist" fare as a function of alienation have not been particulary successful,[15] giving rise to the observation that the poor's use of mass media is more a socializing than an escape function.[16] A "school-for-life" function seems plausible because the poor seem well aware of the value system of the majority, but further research seems warranted to specify the motivational patterns underlying media use.

Television is not only the most preferred medium but also the most believed,[17] despite the fact that TV rarely treats issues and problems of concern to low-income groups and serves as a constant reminder of the the economic and social gaps between classes.

The "school-for-life" explanation, while empirically demonstratable and theoretically interesting, flies in the face of a preference for media that are clearly representational (television and radio) as opposed to symbolic (newspapers and magazines). It may be traced to the earlier noted "tendency" of the poor to rely on nor-verbal and extra-communicative cues as guides to interpretation and an inability or unwillingness to deal with abstractions.

Whether these are related to the specific impact of media content, especially advertising, is addressed below.

Advertising and the Low-Income Consumer

While the advertising industry hasn't devoted systematic study to the impact of advertising among the poor, advertising, marketing and business educators have done so, if one is willing to include studies of advertising and racial minorities, particularly blacks.[18] Some social scientists seem almost automatically to associate race and income, in part because blacks and other minorities are overrepresented in low-income populations. Studies of black-white differences in media use and advertising response are instructive only when income is introduced as a control.

Barban,[19] for example, looked at black and white evaluations of print advertising featuring all-black models, all-white models or a mixed group varied on a dimension of "social intimacy," i.e., whether the models were touching or in close contact. Blacks preferred advertising featuring all-black models to "integrated" ads and "integrated" ads to those featuring all-white models. White preferences exactly reversed that order. Despite clear differences in the preference and evaluation patterns of blacks and whites, the Barban studies are often cited to support a finding of no difference, largely because whites and blacks showed no difference in their evaluations of the "integrated" ads. In these studies, income was defined differently for the two groups with the goal of selecting a *middle-class* sample of black and white repondents. Barban's purpose was to determine whether "integrated" ads would produce a "white backlash." The present study is not conceptualized in terms of race-related differences, since the available evidence on media preferences and use show poor-nonpoor differences but no black-white differences as such.[20]

There is a growing consumer behavior literature treating both race and income as important mediators of choice. Sturdivant treats black-white differences between poor-nonpoor populations in terms of characteristics of the poverty "subculture"[21]—the generation and transmission of norms and values manifest in patterns of consumption. However, the evidence he cites supports a conclusion of no black-white differences with respect to consumption.[22] Kassarijian describes consumer behavior in terms of Lewin's field theory,[23] locating the person's consumer behavior within forces

operating in the immediate environment. Both approaches assume the communications side of the person-product relationship and ignore advertising as a source of product and brand information.

Advertising attempts to influence consumer behavior, and most product advertising seeks to stimulate private consumption. The intent is to create a specific brand preference and encourage a buying response. Among the consuming public, advertising has become part of the commercial landscape, occasionally annoying, mostly accepted, sometimes entertaining.[24] While advertisers and their agencies spend millions a year researching consumer attitudes and reactions in the hope of developing key themes and compelling campaigns, little is really known about the way advertising influences product perception and brand choice.[25] Nowhere was this more apparent than in the testimony of industry "experts" during the FTC hearings on Advertising Practice and the Consumer.[26]

Despite the absence of a theory of advertising effectiveness, it is generally assumed that somewhere between advertising message exposure and brand response—in the *terra incognita* of the consumer's mind—"effects" occur that influence the product and brand perceptions that in turn determine consumption behavior.[27]

Typically, research on "effects" has focused on the specific elements of persuasive communications, i.e., their form and content; the effects of various media treatments, and other communicator-controlled variables, in an attempt to specify necessary and sufficient conditions for a favorable response.[28] The result has been a number of unverified but intriguing principles that make up the "bubbapsychology" of advertising effectiveness.[29] More recently, advertising research has been placed in the broader context of consumer decision making where specific communications are conceptualized in terms of their informational utility to product and brand discrimination and choice.[30] This shift from communicator-controlled phenomena to receiver uses recognizes 1) the motivational and cognitive components mediating specific brand responses, 2) the influence of socially-based product perceptions and 3) person-product-promotion interactions determining brand response. It also moves from a preoccupation with the stimulus side of the learning model to the response side: how the consumer evaluates and uses advertising communications. This necessarily involves some attempt to specify the relative contributions of

media, message appeal and product orientations to specific evaluations.

The theoretical bases for this "orientational" model of affective response was developed by Carter[31] and empirically demonstrated and expanded by Chaffee.[32] To explain communication's role in eliciting differences in affective response to various objects, Carter locates two sources of object value, *salience* and *pertinence*. Pertinence is defined as the relationship between objects as compared on a number of attributes on which the objects may be evaluated, and salience as the psychological distance between the person and the object which varies as a function of the person's reinforcement history with the object. Treating brands as objects, and looking within specific advertising communications for the presence or absence of potential pertinence discriminations, Bowen was able to predict differences in evaluation as a function of product salience.[33]

Despite the attractiveness of this approach to the study of advertising effects, the model may be limited in that it assumes the capacity to discriminate among informational inputs, a characteristic notably lacking, as we have seen, among the poor. Moreover, the assumption of a salience component of object value based on the reinforcement history with the object may be questionable, given the limited resources and restricted credit opportunties of the poor.

Nevertheless the best approach to the study of low-income evaluations of advertising was determined to be to measure the known contingencies within a conceptual model that had demonstrated theoretical and practical utility, and to assess those measures against a comparable sample of middle-income subjects to determine if deviations in income-class orientations to advertising, media, message appeals and products would manifest themselves in differences in advertising evaluations and purchase intentions. The model adopted here treats the person's differential orientations to elements of the advertising process as mediators of specific evaluations.

The rationale for this approach may be more clearly seen by a close examination of Carter's salience and pertinence relationships. According to Carter, an object may be anything that exists psychologically for the person, e.g., another person, a product, various media, advertising communications, etc. The degree to which objects become valued, being a function of the reinforcement his-

tory with the object, in the case of products, might involve both product-related and socially-based satisfactions resulting from product use. In the case of media, this might be reflected in informational and other satisfactions derived from different patterns of media use. An object's total salience may be seen as the sum of these satisfactions, and a store of previously processed pertinence discriminations locating the object's value with respect to various alternatives.

A person's orientation to advertising, then, is a set of interrelationships among elements of the advertising process, each possessing salience and pertinence components that are normally expressed in terms of a gross negative or positive evaluation. The consumer may not be concerned about or even aware of the elements contributing to this orientation beyond vague recollections of annoying or pleasing experiences with media and advertisements appearing within them. (The great weight given to repetition and reach by the advertising industry seems an implicit acknowledgement that consumers rarely seek product information unless cost factors are high and information is readily available.)[34]

For the consumer, the experience may be seen as a series of discrete messages in various media promoting specific brands that may or may not seem important. Krugman considers this very point in his low-involvment model of advertising effects where "subtle" perceptual changes in the image of a brand occur over time as a function of repetition which may culminate in a purchase response when the consumer suddenly "sees" the brand on the shelf.[35] The process is analogous to Zajonc's studies on the effects of mere exposure which demonstrate that repeated exposures to unfamiliar and neutral objects can generate acceptance and produce favorable evaluations.[36]

If much of advertising's effects are sub-rosa, and advertising communications are not prized sources of product information, where then do we look for explanation of favorable or unfavorable evalutions of specific advertising content? It is a major proposition of this study that the locus of specific evaluations of advertising communications inheres in the orientational patterns (the salience and pertinence relationships) of the person's general orientation to advertising, and orientation to specific advertising media as manifested in patterns of preference and use. Also, since we know that

middle-class respondents' patterns of evaluation to advertising and purchase intentions are mediated by their levels of product interest and the degree of appeal pertinence, it seems important to determine if these factors also operate in the evaluation patterns and purchase intentions of the poor. In general, it is expected that a negative orientation to advertising will tend to result in negative evaluations of specific advertising, regardless of media treatments. That is, evaluation scores should be depressed across media as a function of a negative orientation to advertising.

The way media are perceived and used is also seen as an important mediator of evaluations of advertising messages appearing within those media. Specifically, it is expected that favorable or unfavorable media orientations (as expressed in patterns of preference and use) will result in favorable or unfavorable advertising message evaluations. Appeal pertinence is also seen as a general arbiter of evaluative response, since some observers believe the poor do not discriminate between appeals and are highly sensitive to appeals that associate non-product-related factors such as sex appeal, social status, etc., with brand acquisition and use. Such appeals are generally non-pertinent: they do not speak to product-related attributes that enable the consumer to evaluate one brand's merits against another's. They may be dysfunctional for the poor if it can be demonstrated that they are so inclined.

In general, the more pertinent the appeal (the more the communication speaks to attributes of the brand that enable discrimination—size, color, physical compositions, uses, etc.) the more likely the communication is to be favorably evaluated. Conversely, non-pertinent appeals are expected to be evaluated unfavorably.

While advertising orientation, media orientation and appeal pertinence are posed separately as specific sources of advertising evaluations and purchase intentions, they are seen conceptually as contingent conditions mediating patterns of evaluations and purchase intentions. Before turning to the specific hypotheses, it should be noted that income level serves as the independent variable, with advertising orientation, media orientation and appeal pertinence serving as intervening variables "conditioning" evaluative responses and purchase intentions. The relationship between the study's two dependent variables, advertising evaluation and purchase intention

(willingness-to-buy) raises the very real question concerning the relationship between one's evaluative response to specific advertisements and the expressed intention to behave toward the object of those advertisements (the brand). Studies demonstrate that favorable expressions and positive evaluations do not necessarily correevaluations do not necessarily correlate.[37] Here we assume that evaluations of advertisements should correlate with purchase intention as expressed in willingness to buy the featured brand, but subject that assumption to empirical test.

Hypotheses

On the basis of the above discussion, the following patterns of advertising evaluation and willingness to buy for middle- and low-income groups are expected:

Hypothesis 1: For both middle- and low-income groups, advertising evaluation and purchase intention will be a postive function of advertising orientation (the more favorably advertising in general is evaluated, the more favorably specific advertisements will be evaluated.)

Hypothesis 2: Advertising evaluation and purchase intention will be a positive function of media orientation.

Hypothesis 2a: For low-income subjects, it is expected that broadcast media will be more favorably evaluated than printed media, and that their positive orientation to broadcast media will result in more positive evaluations and increased purchase intentions for specific commercials appearing within those media.

Hypothesis 2b: For middle-income subjects, it is expected that print media will be more favorably evaluated than broadcast media, and that their positive orientation to print media will result in more positive evaluations and increased purchase intentions for advertisements appearing within those media.

Hypothesis 3: Advertising evaluation and purchase intention will be a positive function of appeal pertinence.

Hypothesis 3a: For low-income subjects, it is expected that pertinent ads will be more favorably evaluated than non-pertinent ads in broadcast media. No differences in appeal pertinence evaluations are expected for print media.

Hypothesis 3b: For middle-income subjects, it is expected that pertinent ads will be more favorably evaluated in both media.

Hypothesis 4: Purchase intention will be a positive function of advertising evaluation.

Hypothesis 4a: For both middle- and low-income subjects, advertising evaluations are expected to be positively correlated with purchase intention.

METHOD

The Population

Subjects for this study had to be easily available locally at little or no cost, be of one of the two income groups studied and have at least some experience in the consumer role. Since most colleges have many students from middle- and upper-income homes, their selection was no problem; finding a suitable low-income sample of respondents was.[38]

Northern Illinois University is approximately 60 miles west of Chicago and draws approximately 70 per cent of its enrollment from Cook, Kane and Lake Counties (Chicago and suburbs). Northern is one of four Illinois state universities operating a state-sponsored, federally-funded program acronymized as CHANCE (Complete Help and Assistance Necessary for a College Education). The program actively recruits students from the Chicago area who demonstrate "promise" but might otherwise be denied a college education because they or their families are poor. According to the program's director, the median income of CHANCE students' families for 1972 was $4,200, just $800 over the federally determined "poverty" line. The program handled about 400 students.

There was some concern that CHANCE students, while recruited from low-income areas, might not be representative of a low-income population in that the desire to attend college suggest upward mobility, a middle class value. While this would limit generalizability in a descriptive survey, in an experiment comparing two groups it could work only against our hypotheses, not in their favor.

Because they feared it might disturb rapport with the students, the program's supervisors were not willing to cooperate in this study if the students had to participate as CHANCE students, but would not object if CHANCE students, as members of their social organizations, volunteered to participate. Therefore, four social clubs formed along ethnic lines that function as the social arm of the

TABLE 1
Sample Demography by Income Level
(N=400)

	Middle Income	Low Income
Marital Status		
Single	178	181
Married	22	19
Sex		
Male	112	101
Female	88	99
Age		
18-19	54	52
20-21	100	106
22-30	36	42
Father's Occupation		
Professional	58	2
Managerial	101	22
Laborer	9	115
Farmer	2	0
Retired	2	0
Not Reported	28	61
Number of Brothers and Sisters		
None	72	0
1-4	101	81
5-8	8	59
9-12	0	28
Over 12	0	5
Not reported	19	27

CHANCE program with a total membership of about 250 CHANCE students were approached and 210 volunteers were obtained. They constituted the low-income sample (a census).

The middle-income sample was drawn from students enrolled in a mass-lecture introductory course in journalism. This lower-division course, which both satisfies the university's general education requirement and serves as an orientation to journalism normally draws between 250 and 400 students from all classes (see Table 1 for an age breakdown of both samples). Only about 20 per cent become J-majors.

No attempt was made to solicit income data from either sample. Pre-tests indicated that students tended to either overestimate (32%), underestimate (30%) or fail to answer (22%) such an item. Instead, parents' occupation and number of siblings were used as

gross indicators to obtain a reasonable estimate of the student's income class. By taking the median income for each occupational grouping listed in the *Statistical Abstract of the United States* and multiplying that figure by the occupations represented in both samples (see Table 1), an average family income was estimated for both groups.[39] For the middle-income group, the figure was $6,560 (bottom third of the national income distribution). Since family income is affected by family size, the average family income figures were divided by the average family size (middle-income average family size was 4; low-income average family size was 6) to provide a per-family-member average income figure of $2,769 for the middle-income group and $1,093 for the low-income group.

Because most of the students, including CHANCE students, live off-campus in fraternities, sororities and private housing and have little discretionary income, they do receive allowances for food, clothing and grooming aids and are assumed to exercise some consumer judgments. Thus in both samples, the criteria of availability, income-class membership and some consumer experience were met.

Independent and Contributory Variables

Orientations to advertising in general, preference and use patterns among the four major media and levels of product interest were measured within a 2 x 2 factorial design by means of a self-administered questionnaire.

Advertising Orientation was defined as the consumer's evaluation of advertising in general, conceptualized in terms of three component sources: feelings about advertising as a source of product information, feeling about advertising's economic role in a free enterprise system and feelings about advertising as a social force. To measure them, twelve Likert-type items were constructed (six positive and six negative statements, counterbalanced in order of presentation). To obtain a general impression of advertising's form and content, a fourth source of potential affect was measured by having subjects check a list of descriptive adjectives, e.g., advertising is "informative," "interesting," "annoying," "exaggerated," etc.

General advertising orientation was determined by summing across all four sources of affect. The adjective checklist was integrated into the total score by taking the sum of the positive adjec-

tives checked minus the number of negative adjectives checked and adding that net score to the sum of the Likert items to yield a single score for each subject.

Media Orientation was defined as degree of positive or negative affect toward the four major media (television, radio, magazines and newspapers), using five sets of measures: 1) an adjective checklist similar in form and content to the one employed to measure advertising orientation but containing 18 descriptive adjectives (nine positive, nine negative); 2) separate ranking items measuring the individual's preference among the media for entertainment and information and one forced-choice item asking the respondent to choose among the four media as the one best serving need for information; 3) three items asking the respondent to describe the amount of time allocated to the four major media on both weekdays and weekends and an "ideal" media schedule; 4) two items measuring the number of books read and movies attended during the past three months, and 5) four items presenting hypothetical situations intended to determine whether the respondent preferred a print or a broadcast medium for a) presenting a persuasive appeal, b) relaxing, or c) general entertainment.

The adjective checklist items were summed by media according to the same procedure described for the advertising orientation checklist items. Net scores for radio and television were then summed to yield one "broadcast" orientation score per subject and the net scores for magazines and newspapers were summed to yield one "print" orientation score per subject. The ranking and forced-choice items were recoded and mathematically revalued so that they could be summed with the existing "broadcast" and "printed" orientation scores. (The time-spent items were not summed or integrated into a total media orientation score but were included in the anaylsis to assess the reliability of the sampling procedure and to validate the affective items.

Product Orientation was defined as the individual's evaluation of a general class of products and operationalized in terms of the perceived importance of certain "social" and "functional" utilities mediating product selection and brand choice. Social utilities included such choice-mediating factors as "friend's thoughts and opinions about quality," "the company's reputation" and "whether the product (brand) was owned by others you know and respect."

"Functional" utility was operationalized in terms of the importance the individual attached to such product-related factors as "warranties and money-back guarantees," "product styling and color," "brand test results from an independent consumer agency." Both were measured on a 5-point scale for each of five social and five functional factors, with respondents asked to check the scale position that best represented that factor's importance in product evaluation and brand choice. In addition, respondents were asked to indicate the extent price played a role in product choice decisions and to indicate their degree of differentiation among brands within the product category. These price and brand differentiation items had been used in a study of product involvement as a contingent condition in the evaluation of pertinent and non-pertinent appeals.[40] Both importance and price-differentiation items were pretested in small samples of student consumers.

In all, product orientation to seven product classes was measured: major durables, major appliances, personal grooming aids, pharmaceuticals, beverages, household cleansers and food products. Instructions provided examples of products that should belong in the class: "major durables such as cars, boats and snowmobiles." By design, these "examples" represented products used in the stimulus materials (see below). The product orientation items—both importance and price and differentiation items—were summed to yield one score for social utility and one score for functional utility per subject for each of the seven product categories.

Appeal Pertinence relates to the amount and type of information provided. "Pertinent" appeals provide information that either discriminates between brands of a product category or provide information that enables eventual discrimination.[41] "Non-pertinent" appeals are usually non-product based information and associate some quality or condition with the brand such as "sex appeal" with toothpaste.

Appeal pertinence served as a categorical variable and was determined for each of the 40 ads (20 television, 20 magazine) by inspection to determine if the ad spoke to product-based or non-product-related characteristics. Seven trained coders judged all 40 ads. Eleven commercials and eleven magazine ads were judged "non-pertinent," the remaining nine as "pertinent." The inter-coder agreement was .95.

Dependent Variables

Advertising evaluation was defined as the affective response to a specific advertising communication and conceptualized in terms of the communication's ability to arouse interest, aid comprehension and promote belief. A "favorable" response was defined as one that indicates relatively greater interest, comprehension and belief. Purchase intention was defined as the subjective probability of brand purchase given that the consumer was shopping within the product category: willingness to buy the featured brand.

Operationally, a favorable evaluation was defined as a response indicating relatively greater interest, comprehension and belief in the ad itself. Descriptive adjectives and terms synonymous with these general dimensions were compiled by asking middle- and low-income students to describe their feelings and impressions about a series of ads presented to them in an informal gathering. These comments were used to select descriptive adjectives as indicators of interest, comprehension and belief. Ten bipolar pairs were selected and recast into semantic differential scales and pretested in an introductory course in advertising.

The results of that pretest were then subjected to an orthogonally rotated principal components analysis. While not identifying synonyms and antonyms directly, this procedure does provide clusters whose items may then be logically matched for synonyms and antonyms. It yielded ten bipolar pairs as follows (giving favorable terms first and apparent factors in parentheses): exciting/boring (interest); truthful/misleading (belief); believable/unbelievable (belief); clear/unclear (comprehension); informative/same old stuff (comprehension); "together"/"flaky" (interest); useful/trivial (interest); realistic/exaggerated (belief); interesting/annoying (interest); "super bad"/"bummer" (interest). (The terms enclosed in quotes were not in common use among some middle-class students but were among the CHANCE students.) These ten pairs were recast, in counterbalanced format, into ten 7-point semantic differential scales scored 7 (favorable) through 1.

Purchase intention was defined as the subjective probability of brand purchase given a consumer shopping within the product category. Operationally, it was defined as the consumer's willingness to buy the featured brand on the basis of a scaled response to a single item: "If you were shopping for this product, how likely

would you be to buy this brand?" Subjects responded on a 5-point scale ranging from "extremely likely" (5) to "not at all likely" (1).

Stimulus Materials. The study's stimulus materials consisted in 20 magazine advertisements and 20 television commercials for brands in the seven product classes. It was considered important that a wide range of product advertising be studied, but that some of the brands be among those known to the students. As far as possible, brands were matched in broadcast and print presentations.

Television was chosen to represent the broadcast media and magazines as the print medium. To secure matched brand presentations in both media, 50 agencies billing over a million dollars a year were asked to donate prints of television and magazine ads they could spare for instructional and research use.[42] More than 500 television prints and 90 magazine ads were received and screened. Ads containing both pertinent and non-pertinent appeals and covering each of the seven product classes were selected, the magazine ads prepared on slides and the television commercials spliced together for presentation, nine pertinent and eleven non-pertinent ads in both media. Where brands did not have both television and magazine prints, a major competitive brand was substituted as representative of the product class (four cases) all in parity product categories. Whatever advertising evaluation effects are a function a brand-based evaluations are thus minimized.

It was not possible to provide a completely counterbalanced presentation of each product class by appeal pertinence because the materials did not lend themselves to such a split. A broad range of product classes was deemed more important than any specific product class analysis by appeal pertinence.

Procedure

The experimental procedure was accomplished in twelve sessions, with middle- and low-income samples divided into twelve groups of 35 subjects and randomly assigned to one of two "counterbalancing" conditions (magazine or television shown first). A total of 400 subjects, 200 CHANCE "volunteers" and 200 undergraduates, completed all measures.

The questionnaire was given first, then collected, the ad evaluation booklets were passed out and subjects were shown 20 television (or magazine) ads and asked to evaluate them on the scales in the booklet after the use of the scales was explained. The booklet

TABLE 2
General Advertising Orientation Means by Income Level
(N=400)

	Middle Income (N=200)	Low Income (N=200)
Likert Items	37.74	33.73*
Adjective Checklist Sums	-.27	-1.15**

*t=7.47, p.<.001.
**t=4.04, p.<.001.

Note: The higher the score, the more favorable the orientation.

TABLE 3
General Media Orientation Means by Media and Income Level
(N=400)

	Middle Income (N=200)	Low Income (N=200)
Radio	2.78	2.79
Television	1.68	1.50
Magazines	4.64	2.53
Newspapers	3.87	4.12
Radio and TV Summed	2.23	2.15*
Newspapers and Magazines Summed	4.26	3.33**

*t=.34, n.s.
**t=4.17, p.<.001.

Note: The higher the mean, the more favorable the orientation.

contained 20 pages, one for each ad. The purchase intention item was completed before turning the page to the next set of scales. This procedure was repeated until all 20 ads had been shown in both conditions. The slides and commercials were counterbalanced by product class so that no two ads for the same product were shown sequentially. Order of presentation by product class and type of appeal was randomly determined.

Design

Two- and 3-way fully replicated, repeated measures factorial designs were used, with income level as the independent variable

TABLE 4
Product Orientation Means by Functional and Social Utility and Income Level
(N=400)

	Middle Income (N=200)		Low Income (N=200)	
	Social	Functional	Social	Functional
Major Durables	20.65	20.86	20.66	20.95
Major Appliances	19.98	20.61	19.43	21.52
Grooming Aids	17.13	17.38	18.39	18.33
Cleansers	15.81	17.02	17.34	18.07
Beverages	17.16	17.39	18.38	17.60
Food Products	17.54	17.54	18.34	18.34
Pharmaceuticals	18.60	18.21	20.14	18.61

Note: The higher the mean, the more important functional or social factors are in determining specific brand choices.

and ad evaluation, purchase intention, media and appeal pertinence as the dependent variables. Since all subjects appear in all conditions for media, appeal pertinence, ad evaluation and purchase intention, this procedure yields 200 scores per cell in each case.

RESULTS

The advertising, media and product orientation means are presented for middle- and low-income groups in Tables 2 through 4. The advertising orientation means for both the Likert and the adjective checklist items show a highly significant difference between income groups with the low-income group more negatively oriented toward advertising in general. With the exception of pertinent-appeal television-ad-evaluation scores, the poor's negative evaluation of advertising in general depresses their advertising evaluation and purchase intention scores across media (see Tables 9 through 14), and is consistent with Hypothesis 1.

That the poor are more negatively oriented to advertising in general than their middle-class counterparts should not be surprising. The most plausible explanation is that income, media content and media use combine to produce the poor's negative evaluation of advertising.

TABLE 5
Mean Minute Time Spent with the Major Media by Weekday, Weekend and "Ideal" Schedule, and Income Level (N=400)

	Middle Income (N=200)	Low Income (N=200)
Television		
Weekday	80'31"	160'13"****
Weekend	143'58"	193'33"****
"Ideal"	91'37"	160'22"****
Newspapers		
Weekday	56'00"	41'42"***
Weekend	70'34"	80'36"**
"Ideal"	96'42"	91'09"***
Radio		
Weekday	91'33"	155'15"****
Weekend	128'39"	172'30"****
"Ideal"	117'03"	179'15"****
Magazines		
Weekday	48'52"	40'10"***
Weekend	58'49"	40'55"****
"Ideal"	115'24"	87'23"****

*n.s.
**p<.05.
***p.<.01.
****p.<.001.

The media orientation means indicate that the low-income subjects are not as positively oriented to the broadcast media as their middle-class counterparts. Their media evaluations (based on the adjective checklist items) tend to parallel those of the middle-income group with the low-income group rating newspapers higher and magazines lower than the middle-income group. Both groups give similar grades to radio and television.

These results ran contrary to expectations and prompted a re-analysis of the media use (time spent) and preference patterns, for both middle- and low-income groups. The results of that re-analysis are presented in Tables 5 through 8.

The mean minutes reported in Table 5 were calculated by multiplying the mid-point values for each of the time-spent categories by

TABLE 6
Low and Middle Income Correlations between Medium and Medium Use by Weekday, Weekend and "Ideal" Schedules
(N=400)

			Television	Radio	Newspapers	Magazines
			Low Income			
Television	WKD			.36***	-.07	-.02
	WKE			.45***	.55***	-.32***
	IDS			.62***	-.11	-.19***
Radio	WKD	M	-.05		.06	-.18**
	WKE	i	.06		-.37***	-.38***
	IDS	d	.24***		-.04	-.08
Newspapers	WKD	d	.01	.17**		.25***
	WKE	l	.29***	.18**		.47***
	IDS	e	.10	.11		.67***
Magazines	WKD	I	.21***	.13*	.27***	
	WKE	n	.08	.01	.30***	
	IDS	c	.01	.08	.36***	
		o				
		m				
		e				

*p< .05
**p< .01
***p< .001

Note: The low-income sample correlations (upper right matrix) and the middle-income sample correlations (lower left matrix) should be read: The low-income correlation between weekday (WKD) television use and weekday radio use is .36; the same correlation for the middle-income sample is -.05.

their frequency for both groups. The low-income group, as expected, reported spending significantly more time with broadcast media—twice as much time on weekdays—than the middle-class group. With the exception of weekend newspaper time, media usage among the poor shows a consistent pattern of high broadcast media consumption. The middle-income group tended to favor print media and spend more time with newspapers and magazines, although between-media differences are not as marked as for the low-income group. This is especially evident in both groups' choice of media for informational purposes (Tables 7 and 8), reinforcing the observation that the poor's use of broadcast media is felt to serve educational desires, i.e., "school for life," as well as entertainment functions.

TABLE 7
Media Choice for Information by Income Level
(N=400)

	Middle Income (N=200)	Low Income (N=200)
Radio	10.5%	15.5%
Television	30.0%	50.0%
Newspapers	41.0%	20.0%
Magazines	18.5%	14.5%

X =25.15, df=4, p<.001.

TABLE 8
Media Preferences for Entertainment and Information by Income Level
(N=400)

	Entertainment		Information	
	Middle Income (N=200)	Low Income (N=200)	Middle Income (N=200)	Low Income (N=200)
Print Media	13.0%	3.0%	61.0%	34.0%
Broadcast Media	87.0%	97.0%	39.0%	66.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The pattern of media use (Table 6) shows significant correlations between newspaper and magazine time for both groups, negative correlations between print and broadcast media for the low-income group, and more varied patterns of inter-media use among the middle-income group. While ceiling effects are obviously operating, it would appear that the poor are more heavily committed, time-wise, to broadcast media, while the middle-income students distribute their time across all four media.

The failure of the orientation items (adjective checklist) to reflect usage patterns may be explained, in part, as media socialization and acculturation phenomena among the CHANCE students. As urban transplants in the semi-rural university setting, the CHANCE students may well be learning new media lessons, primarily in print, which may be reflected in their media evaluations but not yet in their media behaviors.

TABLE 9
Advertising Evaluation by Media and Income Level

	Television	Magazines
Middle Income	41.05 (N=200)	41.14 (N=200)
Low Income	39.93 (N=200)	37.19 (N=200)

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	MSQ	F	p
Income (I)	1	1386	19.90	.001
Subjects (S)	398	70		
Media (M)	1	298	29.95	.001
(Ss) I x M	1	460	45.10	.001
(Ss) I x S x M	398	10		

TABLE 10
Willingness-to-Buy by Media and Income Level

	Television	Magazines
Middle Income	3.04 (N=200)	3.04 (N=200)
Low Income	2.85 (N=200)	2.73 (N=200)

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	MSQ	F	p
Income (I)	1	12.50	30.30	.001
Subjects (S)	398	.41		
Media (M)	1	.84	17.00	.001
(Ss) I x M	1	.78	15.76	.001
(Ss) I x S x M	398	.05		

The product orientation means (Table 4) show the low-income group to be more positively oriented than the middle-income group on both functional and social utility dimensions to all product classes. It was hoped that these items would discriminate between product classes by income group. The middle-income group means show slight differences between product classes but no clear product groupings emerged. The failure of these measures to discriminate between product classes necessitated dropping product orientation as potential contributory factor in the analysis of advertising evaluation and purchase intention. With product orientation

dropped, advertising evaluation and purchase intention scores were summed as described earlier but not grouped by product class, i.e., they were summed across all seven product classes. Since each subject evaluated 20 television and 20 magazine ads, these scores were summed and divided by 20 to yield one summary score per subject per medium. This procedure was also followed for pertinent and non-pertinent presentations in both media: i.e., 9 scores entered the summary score for pertinent appeals and 11 for non-pertinent appeals in each medium.

The experimental phase of the study used three-way (2 x 2 x N) and four-way (2 x 2 x 2 x N) mixed-model analyses of variance described as Cases XII and XV by McNemar.[43] The error term for testing each main effect and the interactions is the next-higher-order interaction involving the effect tested plus subjects.[44] This method removes individual differences as a source of variance and provides a sensitive test of the hypotheses.

The results of the experiment dealing with Hypotheses 2, 2b and 2d are presented in Tables 9 and 10. As predicted, there is a significant interaction between media and income level as well as significant main effects of both independent variables.

While the results dealing with middle-income ad evaluation for television and magazines (Table 9) are in the predicted direction, the mean differences are extremely small. It is the low-income ad evaluation scores that are contributing most to the main effects of income, media and their interactions.

A similar pattern with respect to purchase intention (willingness-to-buy) is also evident (Table 10). The significance of the purchase intention measures by media for the middle-income group (main effect of media) is obviously a function of the low-income contribution to the results, since there is no difference in cell means for purchase intention between media for the middle-income group. These findings tend to indicate that the middle-income group is not as media-sensitive with respect to ad evaluation or purchase commitments as hypothesized (2d). In fact, considering these findings in light of the data on media usage presented in Tables 5 and 6, Hypothesis 2d requires qualification, if not rejection. While the poor are heavy broadcast consumers, it appears that the middle-income respondents "prefer" print but "use" all major media for information and entertainment.

TABLE 11
Television Advertising Evaluation by Income Level and Appeal Pertinence

	Pertinent	Non-Pertinent
Middle Income	42.36 (N=200)	40.00 (N=200)
Low Income	42.89 (N=200)	37.53 (N=200)

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	MSQ	F	p.
Income (I)	1	186	2.46	n.s.
Subjects (S)	398	75		
Pertinence (P)	1	2976	206.61	.001
(Ss) I x P	1	446	30.99	.001
(Ss) I x S x P	398	14		

TABLE 12
Magazine Advertising Evaluation by Income Level and Appeal Pertinence

	Pertinent	Non-Pertinent
Middle Income	42.22 (N=200)	40.66 (N=200)
Low Income	37.29 (N=200)	37.16 (N=200)

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	MSQ	F	p.
Income (I)	1	3552	42.13	.001
Subjects (S)	398	8432		
Pertinence (P)	1	142	13.16	.001
(Ss) I x P	1	102	9.45	.001
(Ss) I x S x P	398	11		

The results of the experiment dealing with Hypothesis 3 and its corollaries are presented in Tables 11 through 14 and Figures 1 and 2. As predicted, there is a significant interaction between income level, media and appeal pertinence as well as significant main effects of pertinence, media and income. The nature of the interaction may be more clearly seen in Figures 1 and 2.

Looking at Figure 1, appeal pertinence appears to be the leading factor among the middle-income group determining ad evaluation.

TABLE 13
Advertising Evaluation by Income, Medium and Appeal Pertinence
(N=400)

	Television		Magazines	
	Pertinent	Non-Pertinent	Pertinent	Non-pertinent
Middle	42.36	39.99	42.22	40.66
Low	42.89	37.53	37.29	37.16

Appeal Means

	Pertinent	Non-Pertinent
Middle	42.28	40.33
Low	40.09	37.34

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	MSQ	F	p
Income (I)	1	2683	19.27	.001
Subjects (S)	398	139		
Media (M)	1	745	35.74	.001
I x M	1	1055	50.58	.001
(Ss) x I x M	398	20		
Pertinence	1	2210	156.52	.001
I x P	1	60	4.30	.05
(Ss) I x P	398	14		
M x P	1	908	82.08	.001
I x M x P	1	487	44.04	.001
(Ss) I x M x P	398	11		

Pertinent appeals are given better evaluations in both media, with television appeals rating slightly highter evaluations than magazine appeals. Non-pertinent appeals in magazines are given better evaluations than non-pertinent appeals in television by the middle-income group, producing the transverse interaction. While these results are consistent with the prediction of a more favorable evaluation of pertinent appeals in both media for the middle-income group, the unlikely combination of pertinent television and non-pertinent magazines as leaders within the appeal schema is interesting. Harking back to the media orientation argument, it could be that "preferred" media have a built-in compensatory edge over non-preferred media. The middle-income group seems more willing to "forgive" non-pertinence in their preferred media (print), while negatively evaluating non-pertinence in non-preferred media. It would appear that "pertinence" is rewarded, regardless of media preference.

The pattern of low-income ad evaluation responses is consistent with the prediction of favorable evaluation of pertinent ads within

TABLE 14
Purchase Intention by Income, Medium and Appeal Pertinence
(N=400)

	Television		Magazines	
	Pertinent	Non-Pertinent	Pertinent	Non-pertinent
Middle	3.03	3.07	3.17	2.97
Low	2.99	2.78	2.82	2.69

Appeal Means

	Pertinent	Non-Pertinent
Middle	3.10	3.02
Low	2.90	2.73

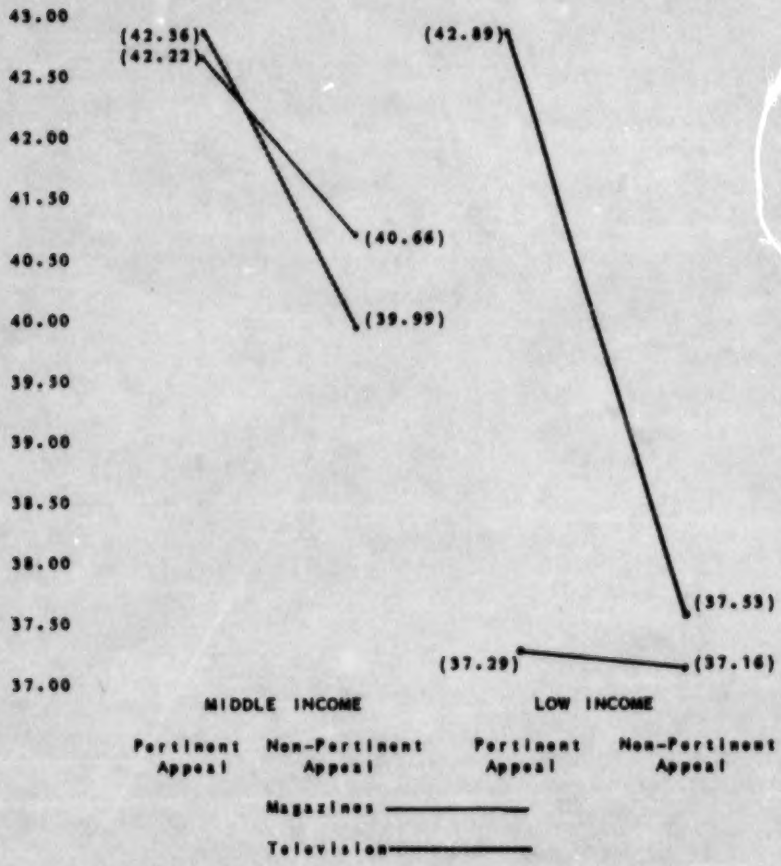
Analysis of Variance

Source	df	MSQ	F	p
Income (I)	1	25.67	28.52	.001
Subjects (S)	398	.83		
Media (M)	1	1.25	12.50	.001
I x M	1	2.25	22.50	.001
(Ss) x I x M	398	.10		
Pertinence	1	6.20	62.00	.001
I x P	1	.74	7.40	.01
(Ss) x I x P	398	.10		
M x P	1	.68	8.50	.01
I x M x P	1	2.48	31.00	.001
(Ss) x I x M x P	398	.08		

television and no difference between pertinent and non-pertinent appeals in magazines (Figure 1).

Figure 2 presents a puzzle. Purchase intentions among the middle-income group do not follow the pattern of the ad evaluations. While the expectation that pertinent appeals in magazines would be more likely to produce willingness to buy than non-pertinent appeals, the fact that non-pertinent television appeals are given a slight edge over pertinent television appeals is contrary to expectation. The difference is small, but it can be taken as supporting a finding of no difference. This may stem from the primary use of this medium among the middle-income group (basically entertainment), combined with the fact that most of the non-pertinent ads in the television condition were humorous. It may be that humorous ads, as entertainment, are rewarded in terms of proposed behaviors, but criticized as information. Further research is war-

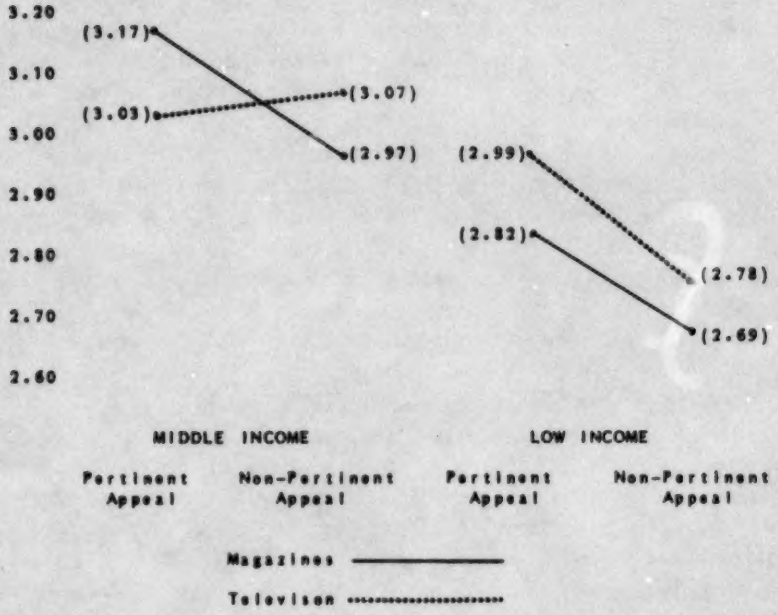
FIGURE 1
Advertising Evaluation by Income Level, Medium and Appeal Pertinence
(From Table 13)



ranted to assess the evaluative and behavioral impact of humor on advertising effects.

The poor show greater willingness-to-buy for pertinent ads in both media (Figure 2). While this finding was expected for pertinent appeals in television, it was not expected for magazines. Again, the differences are extremely small, but they do show a preference for pertinent information, regardless of medium. Evidently, the easy, intuitive association between affect and behavior demands closer

FIGURE 2
Purchase Intention by Income Level, Medium and Appeal Pertinence
(From Table 14)



scrutiny. From these data, it appears that evaluation of content and proposed behaviors toward the objects of content are qualitatively different. Pertinent information is clearly preferred, but there is no easy correspondence between evaluation of content and intention to behave. Since many factors may be influencing both evaluation and proposed behaviors, and because the purchase intention data are based on a single item, it seems appropriate to leave the issue to further research with the caveat that both evaluation and behavioral intention be studied as separate elements in mapping advertising effects.

This recommendation is reinforced by the fact that the overall correlation between advertising evaluation scores and purchase intention scores was .62 ($p<.001$) for television and .74 ($p<.001$) for magazines. While this aggregate correlation was expected, it should not be taken as evidence of purchase intention at the individual level.[45]

DISCUSSION

These results encourage the view that while the poor make greater use of television as their major source of information and entertainment, their patterns of use do not imply unqualified acceptance of content. In fact, the poor appear to be more discriminating in their evaluation of television advertising content than their middle-class counterparts.

Beyond their general preference for "pertinent" information, the middle-income group's patterns of evaluation show very little evidence of media-based "effects." This seems to indicate that any "effect" of media is contingent upon the functional and instrumental utilities associated with media use. The question is not what media "effects" we may expect but how people use media.

Despite the obvious limitations of the present study, several of the findings have social and applied implications.

In both groups, the general preference for pertinent-type information is noteworthy, especially that the principles of object discrimination and differentiation are operating in the evaluation patterns of the poor. The view that the poor pay little attention to what is communicated—that form and style hold sway over content—becomes suspect. It appears that what is said is not only important, but critical. For the advertising industry, the view of television as omnipotent persuader is obviously flawed by the poor's discriminating use of that medium.

At the outset, a question was raised concerning possible dysfunctions of the poor's heavy use of the broadcast media—almost to the exclusion of print media. While the poor obviously prefer audiovisual media there appears to be nothing dysfunctional in that orientation if television and radio are meeting certain informational needs in a form that the poor prefer.

Appeal pertinence appears to be a useful concept in both the description of advertising content and in the determination of evaluative effects. Within the limitations of this study, it appears that a general preference for informative copy across a broad range of product classes is the rule rather than the exception. This finding comes at a time when many advertisers are shifting from a communications strategy involving attribute discrimination to content-free, high-frequency campaigns, a move that avoids the time-consuming and expensive documentation required of most

attribute claims and demanded by a number of consumer and federal agencies. It is reasonable to assume that consumer product information needs are best served in product description and brand analysis. Should industry base claims on inherent product characteristics, the basis for competition becomes a property of the product and not a characteristic of the communication. Conceivably, the consumer benefits in both better products and more informative communications, the advertising industry benefits in the reduction of false, misleading and deceptive advertising and the corporations benefit in producing needed goods and services that result in consumer satisfaction and general good will.

Theoretical Implications

Some advertising theoreticians and professionals like to see advertising as a special form of communication, since "intent" to persuade is ever-present. In this study, and in previous work,[46] advertising has been viewed as communication whose "effects" are posed in terms of contingent interactions involving the person, the product and its promotion. This approach demands measures of the consumer's orientational sets toward the product class and brands, to the media which convey the information and to the form and content of advertising communications. A broader view might include cultural and social influences. Thus differential responses to a wide range of communications designed to elicit specific responses may be explained in terms of differential orientational sets to the objects and means of communications.

In this study, specific evaluative responses were located as a property of the communication. While essentially a static design, certain elements of process are inferred. Conceptually, the affective relationship between person and product can be modified by the form and content of advertising communications. Similarly, the affective relationship between voter and political candidate can be modified by the form and content of political communications. The task for theory and research becomes one of locating and specifying the elements of the orientational sets and their functional relationship to patterns of message reception and acceptance.

This is but one step toward determining the "effectiveness" of advertising communications. Obviously, other contingencies operate in producing differential responses: media styles, product inter-

ests, information "search" costs, etc. but the treatment of *product information* as a focal concept in the study of advertising and the consumer appears promising.

As Chaffee and McLeod note, by treating the consumer as an information processor and decision-maker we move toward a model of communications effects that looks to information as the major mediator influencing the affective relationship between the consumer and the product class.[47] At the same time, we recognize the contingent nature of specific evaluative responses. By focusing on information's utility to decision-making, we are led beyond attempts to account for current information-packaging strategies and their "effects."

Krugman has suggested that print media are more "involving" than broadcast media, i.e., capable of generating more person-product associations in print ads than in television.[48] This study shows that the cutting edge between print and broadcast media seems to be in patterns of media preference and use. While the media may be differentially involving, the locus of involvement appears to be in specific types of content (pertinent and non-pertinent in this study) mediating the affective relationship between consumer and product.

NOTES

[1] "Advertising, Its Ethics and its Critics," in Hugh H. Sargent (ed.), *Frontiers of Advertising Theory and Research* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books, 1972).

[2] Lola M. Irelan and Arthur Besner, "Low Income Outlook on Life," *Welfare in Review*, 3:13-19 (September 1965).

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[8] Bradley S. Greenberg and Brenda Dervin, *Mass Communication among the Urban Poor*, Report No. 5, Project CUP: Communication Among the Urban Poor (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University, Department of Communication, 1969). Also see: Bradley S. Greenberg and Brenda Dervin, *Use of the Mass Media by the Urban Poor* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972); Charles Atkin, Bradley Greenberg and Steven McDermott, "Race and Social Role Learning from Television," in Herbert S. Dordick (ed.), *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Telecommunications Policy Research Conference* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1978); Richard L. Allen and David E. Clarke, "Ethnicity and Mass Media Behavior: A Study of Blacks and Latinos," *Journal of Broadcasting*, 24:23-34 (Winter 1980).

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[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid*

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Thomas H. Allen, "Mass Media Use Patterns and Functions in A Negro Ghetto" (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of West Virginia, 1967).

[14] Alexander P. Runciman, "A Stratification Study of Television Programs," *Sociology and Social Research*, 44:257-61 (March-April 1960).

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[17] *Ibid.*

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[19] Arnold M. Barban, "Negro and White Reactions to 'Integrated' Advertising: Some Preliminary Findings" (paper presented to the Advertising Division, Association for Education in Journalism, Boulder, Colo., 1967); Arnold M. Barban, "The Dilemma of 'Integrated' Advertising," *The Journal of Business of the University of Chicago*, 42:477-96 (October 1969); Arnold M. Barban and Werner F. Grunbaum, "A Factor Analytic Study of Negro and White Responses to Advertising Stimuli" *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 49:274-79 (August 1965).

[20] Greenberg and Dervin, 1969, *op. cit.*

[21] Frederick D. Sturdivant, "Subculture Theory: Poverty Minorities and Marketing," in Scott Ward and Thomas S. Robertson (eds.), *Consumer Behavior, Theoretical Sources* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973).

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Harold H. Kassarjian, "Field Theory in Consumer Behavior," in Ward and Robertson, *op. cit.*

[24] Raymond Bauer, *Advertising in America: The Consumer View* (Boston: Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1968).

[25] Leo Bogart, "Where Does Advertising Research Go From Here?" *Journal of Advertising Research*, 9:3-12 (March 1969).

[26] Summary articles describing the testimony may be found in the October 1971 through January 1972 issues of *Advertising Age*. Also see Robert J. Moskin (ed.), *The Case of Advertising, Highlights of the Industry Presentation to the Federal*

Trade Commission (New York: American Association of Advertising Agencies, 1973).

[27] Sargent, *op. cit.*

[28] Lawrence Bowen and Steven H. Chaffee, "Product Involvement and Pertinent Advertising Appeals," *Journalism Quarterly*, 51:613-21 (Winter 1974).

[29] A "bubba" is a Jewish grandmother and keeper of folk wisdom. McGuire used the term "bubbapsychology" to refer to the intuitively obvious psychological principle.

[30] For an excellent collection of readings on emerging conceptualizations of communication and consumer behavior see Scott L. Ward and Thomas S. Robertson (eds.), *Consumer Behavior, Theoretical Sources* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), especially articles by Steven Chaffee and Jack McLeod, Daniel Wackman and Michael Day.

[31] Richard F. Carter, "Communication and Affective Relations" *Journalism Quarterly*, 42:203-12 (Spring 1965).

[32] Steven H. Chaffee, "Conflict, Information-Seeking and the Discriminating Attribute" (paper presented to the Communication Theory and Methodology Division, Association for Education in Journalism, Lawrence, Kans., 1968); Steven H. Chaffee and Joseph W. Linder, "Three Processes of Value Change without Behaviorial Change," *Journal of Communication*, 19:30-40 (March 1969); Steven H. Chaffee and Leonard P. Tipton, "Conflict, Information-Seeking and the Discriminating Attribute," in Steven H. Chaffee, Keith R. Stamm, Jose L. Guerrero and Leonard P. Tipton (eds.), "Experiments on Cognitive Discrepancies and Communication," *Journalism Monographs* No. 14, 55-74 (December 1969).

[33] Bowen and Chaffee, *op. cit.*

[34] Steven H. Chaffee and Jack M. McLeod, "Consumer Decisions and Information Use," in Ward and Robertson, *op. cit.*

[35] Herbert E. Krugman, "The Impact of Television Advertising: Learning without Involvement," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 29:349-56 (Fall 1965). Also "The Measurement of Advertising Involvement," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 30:583-97 (Winter 1966) and "Processes Underlying Exposure to Advertising," *American Psychologist*, 23:245-53 (Winter 1968).

[36] Robert B. Zajonc, "Attitudinal Effects of Mere Exposure," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology Monograph Supplement*, No. 9:1-27 (June 1968).

[37] See among others, Donald T. Campbell, "Social Attitudes and Other Acquired Behaviorial Dispositions," in Sigmund Koch (ed.), *Psychology: A Study of a Science* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959); Leon Festinger, "Behaviorial Support for Opinion Change," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 28:404-17 (Fall 1964); Carl I. Hovland, "Reconciling Conflicting Results Derived from Experimental and Survey Studies of Attitude Change," *American Psychologist*, 14:8-17 (January 1959); Krugman (1965), *op. cit.*, Chaffee and Linder (1969), *op. cit.* and Bowen and Chaffee, *op. cit.* In the Bowen study, no correlation between advertising evaluation and purchase intention was found.

[38] Income level rarely reflects important qualitative criteria affecting "middle" or "upper" income homes. It also fails to account for factors such as family size, members' ages or the presence of other income-producing family members. Despite these limitations, median income level is often cited as the "locator" defining

class membership. According to the Office of Institutional Research at Northern Illinois University, the median family income of students enrolled during 1972 was $11,730, compared with the national median of $9,867. Thus the majority of students at Northern Illinois University could reasonably be classified as coming from middle or upper-middle income homes. However there are significant differences in median family incomes reported by race (white: $10,236; black: $6,516), by region (Northeast: $10,696; South: $8,552) and by population density (urban-suburban-rural), making median income level as a class "locator" more an article of faith and a current fashion than a valid measure.

[39] See Table 536, United States Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States:* 1972, 93d edition (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1972).

[40] Bowen and Chaffee, *op. cit.*

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Of the 50 agencies queried, 16 responded with 60- and 30-second 16mm prints and magazine ads of current campaigns; one agency refused. Agencies furnishing ads were: Tatham-Laird & Kudner; N.W. Ayer & Son, Inc.; Doremus and Company; Ogilvy & Mather, Inc.; Ross Roy, Inc.; D'Arcy-MacManus-Intermarco; Doyle, Dane Bernbach, Inc., Parkson Advertising Agency, Inc.; Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc.; Ted Bates and Company; Leo Burnett Company, Inc.; Arthur Meyerhoff Associates, Inc.; Cambell-Ewald Company; J. Walter Thompson, Inc.

[43] Quinn McNemar, *Psychological Statistics*, 4th Ed. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969), pp. 377-8.

[44] Subjects are "crossed" in media and pertinence conditions and "nested" within income level. The "nested" subjects factor is denoted (Ss) and should be read "subjects nested within." See B. J. Winer, *Statistical Principles in Experimental Design* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962) for a discussion of this technique.

[45] McNemar, *op. cit.*, Chapter 10.

[46] Bowen and Chaffee, *op. cit.*

[47] Chaffee and McLeod, *op. cit.*

[48] Krugman, 1965, *op. cit.*